

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05 IO-10 SAJ-01 /067 W

----- 062248

O 162000Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0173

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 08034

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, UK, FR, GW, WB, NATO

SUBJECT: 1975 SPRING QUADRIpartite MEETING

REFS: (A) BONN 7897; (B) BONN 7745

BEGIN SUMMARY: BONN GROUP MAY 16 REACHED AD REF
AGREEMENT ON THREE DOCUMENTS: AGENDA FOR QUADRIpartite
BREAKFAST MEETING; ANNOTATED AGENDA CONTAINING BRIEF
SUMMARY OF MAJOR ITEMS; AND SOMEWHAT LONGER VERSION OF
SAME PAPER WHICH PROVIDES ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND AND
DETAIL. UK REP EXPECTS THAT ONLY THE FIRST TWO DOCU-
MENTS WILL BE GIVEN FONMIN CALLAGHAN, WITH THIRD
DOCUMENT BEING MADE AVAILABLE ONLY FOR PARTICIPANTS
IN SENIOR LEVEL MEETING. OTHER THREE DELEGATIONS
NOTED THAT ALL DOCUMENTS WOULD BE TRANSMITTED TO
CAPITALS FOR SUITABLE DISPOSITION. TEXT OF FIRST TWO
DOCUMENTS FOLLOW; TEXT OF THE THIRD, WHICH IS A RE-
VISED AND NOW AGREED VERSION OF THE PAPER TRANSMITTED
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IN REF B, FOLLOWS SEPTTEL. END SUMMARY

1. AGENDA

BEGIN TEXT: A COMMUNIQUE

B.I. TRENDS IN SOVIET POLICY ON BERLIN

B.II. THE NEXT SIX MONTHS: POSSIBLE

DEVELOPMENTS AND FUTURE PROBLEMS

(1) BERLIN AND DETENTE

(2) BERLIN AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

(3) POSSIBLE QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS

(4) TIES BETWEEN FRG AND BERLIN

(5) REPRESENTATION OF WEST BERLIN ABROAD

(6) INNER GERMAN RELATIONS AND FRG

RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

END TEXT

2. ANNOTATED AGENDA

I. THE LAST SIX MONTHS: TRENDS IN SOVIET POLICY ON BERLIN

ALTHOUGH THERE HAS SINCE THE LAST MINISTERIAL MEETING BEEN NO SINGLE ISSUE AS SERIOUS AS THAT OF THE FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO PRESS WITH INCREASING VIGOUR THEIR RESTRICTIVE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. IN PARTICULAR THE RUSSIANS INTERPRET NARROWLY THE PROVISION THAT THE TIES BETWEEN WEST BERLIN AND THE FRG ARE TO BE MAINTAINED AND DEVELOPED WHILE EMPHASISING THE CONDITION ATTACHED TO IT THAT WEST BERLIN CONTINUES NOT TO BE A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE FRG AND NOT TO BE GOVERNED BY IT. THEY CLAIM THAT THIS IS THE CENTRAL PROVISION OF THE AGREEMENT TO WHICH ALL OTHERS MUST BE SUBORDINATED.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAVE CONTINUED TO SEEK TO RESTRICT THE EXTENSION TO BERLIN OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS ENTERED INTO BY THE FRG USUALLY ALLEGING THAT MATTERS OF "SECURITY AND STATUS" ON THEIR OWN WIDE INTERPRETATION OF THOSE WORDS HAVE BEEN AFFECTED. THEY HAVE ALSO ASSERTED THAT CERTAIN OTHER CRITERIA FOR THE EXTENSION OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS TO BERLIN, NOT CONTAINED IN THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, HAVE NOT

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BEEN MET, E.G., RELEVANCE OF SUBJECT MATTER TO BERLIN. THEY HAVE BEGUN TO CHALLENGE SERIOUSLY THE POSITION OF WEST BERLIN VIS-A-VIS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, PARTICULARLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EUROPEAN VOCATIONAL TRAINING CENTRE.

THE SOVIET UNION IS INCREASINGLY CLAIMING A VOICE IN THE AFFAIRS OF WEST BERLIN AND HAS NOT ABANDONED ITS

LONG-TERM AIM TO HAVE IT REGARDED INTERNATIONALLY AS AN
INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ENTITY.

II. THE NEXT SIX MONTHS: POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS AND
FUTURE PROBLEMS

(1) BERLIN AND DETENTE

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 08034

THE ABSENCE OF ANY MAJOR DIFFICULTY WITH THE
RUSSIANS OVER BERLIN DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS IS
LARGELY ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT
AND THE DETENTE IN EUROPE OF WHICH THE AGREEMENT FORMS
AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT. ANY CHANGE IN SOVIET POLICY
TOWARDS BERLIN IS LIKELY TO BE LIMITED BY A CONTINUING
BROADER SOVIET INTEREST IN DETENTE BUT IT CANNOT BE
EXCLUDED THAT THEIR ATTITUDE WILL HARDEN AFTER THE
CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE. ANY SUCH HARDENING MIGHT

MANIFEST ITSELF IN OPEN CONFRONTATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORA OR INTERFERENCE WITH THE ACCESS ROUTES, POSSIBLY WITH THE AIM OF FORCING THE THREE POWERS TO ASK FOR CONSULTATIONS UNDER THE TERMS OF THE FINAL QUADRIPARTITE PROTOCOL, THUS PUTTING THEM IN THE POSITION OF DEMANDEURS.

(2) BERLIN AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
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THE POSITION OF WEST BERLIN VIS-A-VIS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY MAY BE AN INCREASING SOURCE OF FRICTION WITH THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT BERLIN AND ITS INHABITANTS SHOULD PARTICIPATE AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE IN THE ACTIVITIES AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY. ON THE OTHER HAND IT IS IMPORTANT TO AVOID DEVELOPMENTS WHICH WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO SQUARE WITH ALLIED OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE QA. THE ALLIES AND THE FRG NEED THEREFORE TO BE IN A POSITION TO STUDY TOGETHER IN ADVANCE COMMUNITY PROPOSALS WHOSE APPLICATION IN BERLIN MIGHT CREATE PROBLEMS SO THAT THEY CAN IF NECESSARY INTERVENE IN THEIR ELABORATION AND THUS OBTAIN THE NEED FOR ANY PUBLIC CORRECTIVE ACTION BY THE ALLIED KOMMANDATURA.

(3) POSSIBLE QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS

IF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT SEEK FORMAL CONSULTATIONS UNDER THE TERMS OF THE FINAL QUADRIPARTITE PROTOCOL THE THREE POWERS WOULD HAVE NO OPTION BUT TO AGREE. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT MIGHT SEEK QUADRIPARTITE TALKS ON AN INFORMAL BASIS EITHER (A) WITH A VIEW TO A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE APPLICATION OF THE QA OR OF QUESTIONS OF ITS INTERPRETATION, OR (B) IN ORDER TO DISCUSS SOME SPECIFIC INCIDENT OR DEVELOPMENT IN CONNECTION WITH BERLIN. IN CASE (A) THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE NOTHING TO GAIN BY ENTERING INTO CONSULTATION. AS FOR CASE (B) THERE ARE DIFFERENT VIEWS WHETHER IT MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES TO ACCEPT A SOVIET SUGGESTION OF INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS.
END TEXT
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